

# THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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Official Organ of the Executive Committee of the Communist International



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Introduction to Bukharin's book on "World Economics and Imperialism." Published for the first time in English.

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## Under the Control of the Struggling Masses

THE Anti-Imperialist Congress recently held in Brussels was convened by the League of Oppressed Peoples. In spite of its heterogeneous composition and the absence of political clarity and class demarcation in its ranks it was converted into a definite demonstration of solidarity between the proletariat and the oppressed peoples. The Congress made only the first step, and a rather vacillating step, on the road towards co-ordinating the class struggle of the proletariat in the capitalist countries with the national revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples. But the general situation on the arena of class struggle is such that even this vacillating step, even this simple meeting of representatives of colonial movements with the representatives of the proletariat, can be converted into a factor of real struggle against imperialism.

The Congress can be converted into such a factor in spite of the fact that the colonial movements represented there are in varying stages of revolutionary development, and the groups of the Labour movement represented at this Congress do not pursue the class struggle on equally consistent lines. It can do so, but only if the question of struggle which the Congress only approached tentatively, moved by the sacred hatred for the capitalist spoilers of oppressed peoples, confronts it as gigantic historical questions for whose solution relentless self-sacrificing organised struggle under the leadership of the working class is necessary.

Evidence that such a further development of the League is not out of the question could be found in the hostility shown to the Brussels Congress not only by the bourgeoisie, but by its watchdogs—the leaders of reformism. It is a well-known fact that the Washington Government, which never tires of reiterating its "dissociation" from imperialist aims and its "aloofness" from European affairs, was very prompt in tendering to Belgium good advice: not to allow the Congress to be held in its capital. But the attempt to disperse the Congress to which delegates were sent from all parts of the globe failed; and the bourgeoisie had to rest content with putting the Congress in quarantine, instructing the Vandervelde Government not to allow Belgian workers to associate with the delegates to the Congress, and

suggesting to the reformist leaders the wise idea of "killing" the Congress by haughty contempt.

These tactics ended in complete failure as the Second and Amsterdam Internationals which honoured the Congress by their absence did not succeed in their attempts at maintaining a haughty silence. The "Vorwärts" has already discharged a regular hailstorm of provocative accusations against the Congress. There can be of course no doubt whatever that the bark of the Social Democrats will be followed by the bark of the others. Thus the Congress has very good prospects.

The characteristic feature of the situation which forms the background to the Brussels Conference is the growing acuteness of the struggle between oppressors and oppressed. We witness, on the one hand, the growing pressure on the part of imperialism, its entry upon the path of open conquest (Nicaragua), the most severe colonial terror (Dutch Indies, North Africa, etc.), more perfect methods for the deception and corruption of the native bourgeoisie (British India) but at the same time we witness a breach in the most important part of the imperialist front—the victorious development of the great Chinese revolution and the rich experience of national revolutionary struggle gained by it, an experience which certainly has not yet reached other peoples, but is already beginning to reach them and to be assimilated.

DID the Brussels Congress fully appreciate this complicated and many-sided situation? Did it seriously study this accumulated experience of struggle, great mistakes and sanguinary defeats on the one hand, and initial important successes and great new sacrifices which the form of development will exact on the other hand? We have not yet received sufficiently authentic documents about the Congress to give an exhaustive answer to this question. That the tasks of the struggle were laid down in a very general and indefinite way, not up to the level of hard reality, is shown by the weakness and ineffectiveness at the Congress of the voices of those who severely criticised the errors, defection, and treachery which unfortunately fill the pages of the history of the national revolutionary movement, and to a



## The Struggling Masses—continued

greater extent the pages of the Labour movement of the imperialist countries.

But one thing is certain: the participants in the Congress want to destroy imperialist oppression and to prevent new imperialist wars, and it is just this which constitutes the main difference between this Congress and the Conference of Second International careerists held simultaneously in Paris, where under the cloak of a hypocritical and lying resolution against intervention the Bureau of the Second International circulated the Abramovitch-Churchill formula about Soviet imperialism in China. It goes without saying that part of the delegates to the Brussels Congress made their first stride along the road of struggle against imperialism under the pressure of the masses—driven to it by events themselves. But whereas, the growing activity and the consciousness of the masses stimulated this Congress to the adoption of more real, more honest methods of struggle, the same factor only compels the upper stratum of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals to look for new and more perfect methods of deceit in order to lull to sleep the growing watchfulness of the masses and to lead their growing activity into a blind alley. This is the gulf which separates them from the semi-pacifist half-formed tendencies which were represented in Brussels.

This "desire" to resist the cruel imperialist offensive, expressed by a section of the Brussels Congress, is very characteristic. But will they be able to resist this offensive, to keep steadfast in the struggle which imperialism not only carries on by means of long range guns, squadrons, and the landing of marines, but also by the dangerous double game of the reformists? The issue of the struggle alone can supply an answer to this query. Therefore the most class-conscious and organised section of the Congress is confronted with the task of driving by its ideological and organisational influence these vacillating and not always reliable elements on to the path of real struggle, to put up to them the necessity for choosing openly and without hesitation between the united front of the anti-imperialists and the front of the united front of the anti-imperialists and the front of anti-imperialist struggle, and to brush aside those among

them who choose that which is in the interests of the bourgeoisie and against the interests of the oppressed.

The decisive factor which has considerable importance to the Brussels resolutions is that this Congress was held—nor could this be otherwise—under the influence of the great Chinese revolution. Here, on this front of the anti-imperialist struggle, develop the forces which can give real victory; here also become evident the various and growing difficulties which stand in the way of such a victory. Therefore it is not mere chance that the most active, inspiring and leading role at the Congress was played by the chief forces of the Chinese Revolution: the Chinese trade unions, the Kuomintang and the national revolutionary army on the one hand and on the other the representatives of the British proletariat, on whom devolves the main duty—that of bringing intervention to nought.

THE Chinese delegates brought with them from the field of relentless, sanguinary, heroic struggle live proofs of the important re-groupings which take place in the national revolutionary movement when the proletariat appears on the historical arena as an independent organised force and with its vanguard—the Communist Party—becomes the driving force of the entire revolutionary struggle. At the same time the Chinese revolution has shown what enormous fighting activity and revolutionary energy the peasant masses are capable of, provided their spontaneous rising against the imperialist oppressors is linked up with the conscious leadership of the proletariat and is freed from the paralyzing influence of bourgeois opportunism.

The Chinese revolution also bears witness that the organisation of a united revolutionary anti-imperialist front which includes, side by side with the proletariat and peasantry, the urban petty-bourgeoisie and those sections of the native bourgeoisie which, to a greater or lesser degree, have still preserved their fighting capacity, is by no means an insoluble task—given stability of the labour and peasant alliance and leadership by the proletariat within this alliance. By its very existence, the Chinese revolution has shown and is showing to all the oppressed, firstly, that it is possible to make a breach in the imperialist front, and secondly, that to do this is only possible by open, armed mass struggle. This object lesson is of great importance to all oppressed peoples, first and foremost to the peoples inhabiting enslaved India. Probably the Achilles heel of the Congress is that it did not raise in a practical manner the question of the lessons of the Chinese revolution in its adaptation to the national revolutionary struggle in India, a struggle in which, as shown by the paragraph quoted later, British imperialism is still overwhelmingly the victor.

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THE British delegation too contributed to the work of the Congress the fruit of its stern experience. If this experience is taken honestly and consistently into account, it should be a guarantee that the resolutions of the Congress will not remain vague good intentions which pave the road to the hell of reformist opportunism. In spite of the objections of the more vacillating elements, paragraphs were included in the resolutions of the Congress on a general strike in the event of war, on declaring an embargo and a transport



### The Struggling Masses—continued

workers' strike for the purpose of preventing the transportation of imperialist forces. Prior to the General Strike in Great Britain and the heroic struggle of the British miners it was permissible—given a certain amount of naïveté and short-sightedness—to speak of these methods of struggle without considering that their real accomplishment requires heavy sacrifices and powerful organisation. At present naïveté and short-sightedness alone, even if it be the naïveté and shortsightedness of the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain, does not justify the use of such expressions without fully realising what obligations they imply.

The tragic capitulation of the General Strike in Great Britain, at a very critical moment for the bourgeoisie, has shown clearly to the masses not only the danger of reformist leadership in this struggle, but also that the General Strike, which is an indispensable form of struggle, presupposes in its further development a gradual transition to higher forms of revolutionary struggle. The defeat of the British miners in spite of their self-sacrifice and heroism must remain a vivid reproach to all honest revolutionists when they adopt resolutions on embargo and transport workers' strikes. One must not forget for a single minute that the Continental as well as the British proletariat proved to be too weak organisationally to overcome the sabotage of the reformist apparatus, to brush aside the trade union bureaucrats and to organise over their heads and on their bodies real support for the British miners.

For this organisational weakness, for this lack of attention to the appeals, warnings and demands of the Communist International, the British and also the Continental proletariat is now paying a big price. But after this lesson, one should of course first of all carry on a relentless struggle against the liquidatory mood which, speculating on the treachery of the reformist leaders, is endeavouring to impair the confidence of the masses in the General Strike, as one of the stages of the struggle. But at the same time it would not only be naïve but downright criminal to speak of a General Strike without seeing to it that all the various forms of organisation, without which hope in the success of a General Strike is nothing but a dangerous illusion, are created and consolidated.

**F**ENNER BROCKWAY, the representative of the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain at the Congress openly confessed that "he was ashamed" of the policy of the MacDonald Labour Government with regard to India and of the double game of the Labour Party with respect to China. Well, contrition is a good thing. It even gains in importance when, as in this case, it is perfectly clear that the main source of this contrition was the merciless criticism of the masses. From this viewpoint it would be a great mistake to under-estimate the importance of the participation in this Congress of "Left" leaders, a participation which reflects a real intensive and bona fide veering to the Left of large sections of workers.

But if Brockway reckons to give his policy, in the future also, the form of personal contrition, which can be characterised by the saying "without sin no contri-

tion, without contrition, no salvation," the Labour movement will profit very little by this personal self-perfecting. Contrition alone on the part of the leaders of the Independent Labour Party is also not enough to "save" them in the eyes of the working class, just as the kiss exchanged between Lansbury and the representative of the Chinese national revolutionary army is not enough to make good the criminal errors of the Labour Party and the General Council with respect to intervention, and Lansbury's lenient attitude to these errors.

The working class and the oppressed masses cannot help seeing that on the very day when Lansbury demonstrated for the Chinese revolution his feelings which command respect, British imperialism demonstrated in the streets of Shanghai the complete impunity of its high-handed actions, arranging a parade of the forces of occupation against the despatch of which the Independent Labour Party had not protested with the necessary energy, in spite of the appeals addressed to it by the Communist Party. Brockway's contrition and Lansbury's kiss will give nothing to the Chinese revolution if they are not accompanied by the adoption of a system of definite action against intervention and war.

This lack of clarity, half-heartedness and vacillation, which pervaded the Brussels Congress, can only be actually overcome if proper organisational work is adopted, and Willi Münzenberg was quite right when, summing up the work of the Congress, he pointed out that all the anti-imperialist work is still before us. One can safely assume that the bourgeoisie and the reformist leaders will, by their terrorist tactics, do their best to encourage "self determination" by some of the tendencies represented at the Congress and to expose the vagueness and vacillation, of which there are so many at the Congress. We have already mentioned the first signal given by the "Vorwärts"—the most sensitive barometer of the British Intelligence Department. Information has already been received that the reformist leaders in the coloured trade union of South Africa have used their numerical superiority in the administration for the expulsion from the union of Lagula, the representative of the National Congress of the Negroes of South Africa. But this expulsion has aroused the rank and file trade unionists. They passed resolutions protesting against the reformist disruptionists who curry favour with the bourgeoisie. If the masses are really drawn into the struggle, the anti-imperialist League will be placed under control which will protect it from many dangers and errors, and will guide it along the path of real revolutionary struggle.





# Preface to Bukharin's "World Economics and Imperialism"

N. Lenin

(NOTE.—In his own Preface to his book, "World Economics and Imperialism," Comrade Bukharin wrote:—

"About two years ago the manuscript (of this book) was sent to Russia from abroad, and after falling into the hands of the military censorship, found its way, by mistake, to the wrong publishing house. After the February (1917) revolution, the manuscript was 'discovered.' The book was to have been published during the July days, but secret service agents and Junkers raided and broke up our Party printing press, and paid their attentions also to my manuscript. It was discovered in an extremely dilapidated state, a considerable time afterwards, but an extremely valuable preface written by Comrade Lenin, to whom I now express my profound thanks, was lost."

Apparently, Lenin attached considerable importance to this preface which he wrote in December, 1915, for he made a copy of it, which has been preserved in his papers, and is now published for the first time by the Lenin Institute.

The manuscript is written with the numerous abbreviations so characteristic of Lenin: For greater convenience it is here published without the brackets, marking where these abbreviations have been "extended."

The manuscript consists of six small pages of small, closely written matter. On the top of the fourth page there are some figures, evidently indicating the number of words in the manuscript.

On the top of the first page there is the inscription "Copy," and the initials I.V. in Lenin's handwriting. THE LENIN INSTITUTE.)

THE importance and timeliness of the theme to which N. I. Bukharin's book is devoted does not need to be particularly stressed. The problem of imperialism is not only one of the most urgent, one may say it is the most urgent problem in that sphere of economic science which examines capitalism's changes in form during modern times. A knowledge of the facts concerning this problem, which the author of this book has so carefully collected from the latest material, is undoubtedly necessary not only for all those interested in economics but also for those interested in any sphere of modern social life.

It goes without saying that a concrete historical estimate of the present war cannot be made unless this estimate is based upon a study of the essential features of imperialism, both from its economic and political aspects. Otherwise it is impossible even to approach an understanding of the economic and diplomatic situations that have arisen during the last ten years; and without this it is ridiculous to expect to arrive at correct views concerning the war.

Marxism alone expresses clearly the demands of modern science in this question, and from the point of view of Marxism the "scientific" value of methods

which consist of selecting individual facts, convenient for the governing classes of a single country, from the whole mass of the diplomatic "documents" and political events of the day and describing this as a concrete historical estimate of the war, can only raise a smile. G. Plekhanov, for example, must have totally abandoned Marxism to substitute a couple of facts, which tickled the fancy of Purishkevitch and Miliukov, for an analysis of the fundamental features and tendencies of imperialism as a system of economic relations of modern, highly developed, ripe and over-ripe capitalism. By doing this the term imperialism is degraded into a sort of term of abuse, directed against the immediate competitors, rivals and opponents of the two imperialists just mentioned, both of whom stand on precisely the same class basis as their rivals and opponents. This is not to be wondered at in these days of hackneyed phrases, lost principles, philosophies abandoned, and resolutions and solemn promises left aside.

The scientific value of N. I. Bukharin's book consists precisely in the fact that he examines the fundamental facts of world economy with regard to imperialism as one whole, as a definite stage of development of capitalism at the height of its development. There has been an epoch of relatively "peaceful" capitalism, when capitalism completely overcame feudalism in the progressive countries of Europe and could develop—RELATIVELY—calmly and smoothly, "peacefully" expanding over enormous territories up till then unoccupied and countries which had not yet been drawn into the capitalist whirlpool.

Of course, in that period (approximately that between 1871 and 1914) the conditions of life created by "peaceful" capitalism were far from being really "peaceful," in the military as well as in the class sense. To nine-tenths of the population of these progressive countries and to hundreds of millions of the population of the colonies and backward countries this epoch was not an epoch of "peace," but an epoch of oppression, of torture and horror which was the more horrible because it appeared to be "horror without end." This epoch has passed away for ever. Its place has been taken by an epoch relatively more impetuous, cataclysmic, full of antagonisms, proceeding not smoothly but in leaps and jerks, when the typical prospect that is held out for the masses of the population is not "horror without end," but "a horrible end."

It is extremely important in this connection to bear in mind that this change has been brought about by nothing but the direct development, expansion and continuation of the most profound and fundamental tendencies of capitalism and commodity production generally. The growth of exchanges, the growth of large-scale production—these are the fundamental tendencies observed in the course of centuries in absolutely all parts of the world. At a certain stage in the development of exchange, at a certain stage in the growth of large-scale production—at the stage which was reached



## Preface to Bukharin—continued

approximately at the junction of the 19th and 20th centuries—exchange so internationalised economic relations, so internationalised capital, large-scale production became so large, that free competition began to give way to monopoly.

Enterprises "freely" competing among each other within each country, and free competition BETWEEN EACH COUNTRY, were no longer typical; monopolist combinations of enterprises and trusts became the normal thing. The typical "ruler" of the world became finance capital, which is particularly mobile and flexible, and has its ramifications within the country and internationally, is particularly impersonal and detached from direct production, is easily concentrated; and is already so highly concentrated that literally a few hundred billionaires and millionaires hold the fate of the whole world in their hands.

Arguing ABSTRACTLY—theoretically—we might come to the conclusion which Kaustsky reached (by another way but also by abandoning Marxism), namely, that the time is not far distant when a world combination of these magnates of capital into a world trust will abolish rivalry and struggle between national financial groups of capital, and set in its place financial capital inter-nationally combined. Such a conclusion, however, is as abstract, vulgar and incorrect as the analogous conclusion drawn by our "Struvists" and "Economists" of the '90's of the last century, where they drew from the progressive character of capitalism, the inevitability of its growth and final victory in Russia, either apologetic conclusions (grovelling before capitalism, seeking conciliation with it, adulation instead of fighting) or non-political conclusions (repudiating politics or repudiating the importance of politics, the probability of wide political upheavals, etc., a mistake particularly made by the "economists") or direct "strike" conclusions ("general strike" as the culmination of the strike movement, forgetting or ignoring other forms of the movement and "leaping" directly from capitalism to the abolition of capitalism by a strike method alone). Symptoms are to be observed which indicate that the undoubtedly progressive character of modern capitalism, as compared with the semi-philistine "paradise" of free competition, and the inevitability of the development of imperialism and its final victory, in the progressive countries of the world, over "peaceful" capitalism, may lead to the same numerous and varied political and non-political errors and wrong conclusions.

Kaustsky's obvious break with Marxism has not assumed the form of repudiating or forgetting politics, of a "leap OVER" the numerous and varied conflicts, shocks and transformations of imperialism, but the form of DREAMS about "PEACEFUL" CAPITALISM. "Peaceful" capitalism has given way to unpeaceful, warlike, cataclysmic imperialism. This Kaustsky is compelled to admit, for he admitted this as far back as 1909 in a special work which he wrote at the time\* in which he for the last time drew complete logical conclusions like a Marxist. But since it is impossible simply and directly to dream after the vulgar fashion of a reversion from imperialism to "peaceful" capi-

talism, is it not permissible to give these which are in fact petty-bourgeois dreams, the form of innocent reflections concerning "PEACEFUL ultra-imperialism"? If by ultra-imperialism is meant the international combination of national (it would be more correct to say separate State) imperialisms, which "could" remove the conflicts that are particularly unpleasant, particularly alarming and disquieting to the petty-bourgeoisie—wars, political upheavals, etc.—then why not turn one's back on the deeply riven and cataclysmic epoch of imperialism present and approaching, and dream of the relatively peaceful, relatively harmonious, relatively non-cataclysmic "ultra-imperialism," why not turn one's back on the "acute problems" which the epoch of imperialism now beginning in Europe has raised; it will be followed perhaps by a relatively "peaceful" epoch of "ultra-imperialism" which will not demand "sharp" tactics? This is exactly what Kaustsky says. He says: "Such a new phase of capitalism (ultra-imperialism) is conceivable at all events theoretically." "Is it realisable? We have not sufficient premises to be able to reply to this question." ("Neue Zeit,"—30.IV.1915. Page 144.)\*

There is not a grain of Marxism in this attempt to turn one's back on approaching imperialism and to lose oneself in dreams about "ultra-imperialism," the realisation of which is uncertain. In this theory Marxism is given up for a "new phase of capitalism," the arrival of which its inventor himself cannot guarantee; and for the present already approaching phase, instead of Marxism, we get a petty-bourgeois and profoundly reactionary striving to tone down antagonisms.

Kaustsky PROMISED to be a Marxist in the future acute and cataclysmic epoch, which he could not but foresee and recognise quite definitely in the book he wrote in 1909 concerning this future epoch. Now, when it has become absolutely beyond doubt that this epoch has arrived, Kaustsky again only PROMISES to be a Marxist in the future epoch of "ultra-imperialism," although it is unknown whether this epoch will come or not.

In a word, any number of promises to be a Marxist in *some other* epoch, but not now, not under the present conditions, not in the present epoch! Marxism by promissory note, Marxism to-morrow, and a petty-bourgeois opportunist theory—AND NOT ONLY A THEORY—of toning down antagonisms to-day. It is very much like the internationalism which is very widespread "nowadays," internationalism for export when internationalists and Marxists warmly—oh, very warmly—sympathise with every manifestation of internationalism in the enemy camp, but not in their own camp, or in the camp of their allies; when they sympathise with democracy . . . when it remains a promise of the "allies"; sympathise with "self-determination of the people," but NOT of those nations which are dependent upon the countries to which the sympathisers belong. . . . In a word, it is one of the thousand and one forms of hypocrisy.

Can it be denied that a new phase of capitalism after imperialism—ultra-imperialism—is theoretically conceivable? No. Abstractly, such a phase is conceivable, but in practice to stress this means becoming

(Continued at foot of next page.)

\* This refers to Kaustsky's "Weg zur Macht"—"Road to Power."

\* The passage quoted is from Kaustsky's article "Zwei Schriften zum Umlernen," "Neue Zeit," No. 5, 1915.



# The Re-Grouping of Forces in the Chinese Revolution

A. Martynov

**I**N connection with the intensification of class antagonisms in China the VII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. declared: "At the present time the movement is on the threshold of the third stage, on the eve of a fresh re-grouping of forces. At this stage of development the driving force consists of an alliance bearing a still more revolutionary character—an alliance between the proletariat, the peasantry and the urban petty-bourgeoisie, from which the larger section of the big capitalist bourgeoisie has been removed. This does not mean that the whole bourgeoisie as a class falls out of the national liberation struggle. Besides the petty and middle bourgeoisie, even certain sections of the big bourgeoisie may, for some time, march with the revolution. At this stage in the movement, however, the proletariat more and more assumes the leadership."

The Plenum connected this inevitable re-grouping of the forces of the revolution with the growth of the peasant movement, concerning which the resolution of the Plenum declares: "Not to put the agrarian revolution in a prominent position in the programme of the national revolutionary movement, for fear of losing the irresolute and disloyal co-operation of a certain section of the capitalist class, would be wrong. This would not be the revolutionary policy of the proletariat. The Communist Party must be free from such an error."

Since the Plenum of the E.C.C.I. took place, the intensification of class antagonisms in town and country has advanced considerably in China, as a result of the further development of the Labour and Peasant Movements, particularly in Hunan and Hupeh, and also as a result of the increasing pressure of the imperialists and the growing menace of open intervention. Both these phenomena have stimulated the Right Wing of the movement, inclined towards concessions and compromise with the imperialists. As a result of this, friction and

(Continued from page 50.)

an opportunist repudiating the acute problems of the present day for the sake of dreaming about future problems that are not acute. In theory it means ceasing to base oneself on the real development which is proceeding, but DETACHING oneself from this development for the sake of dreams. There is not the slightest doubt that the development of events is going IN THE DIRECTION of a single world trust, which will absorb absolutely all enterprises and all States. But this development is taking place under such conditions, at such a rate, amidst such antagonisms, conflicts and upheavals—not only economic, but also political, national and others—that BEFORE THINGS REACH THE STAGE OF THE SINGLE WORLD TRUST—the stage of "ultra-imperialism"—the world system of national groups of finance capital—imperialism—must inevitably collapse, and capitalism will become converted into its very opposite.

V. ILYIN,

December, 1915.

conflict have broken out between the representatives of the provincial authorities on the one hand, and the masses on the other; the temper of the masses is reflected in the Left Wing of the Kuomintang.

The Left Wing represents a considerable majority in the Kuomintang. At the Second Congress of the Kuomintang, held in January, 1926, 168 of the 278 delegates present belonged to the Left and Communist Wing; the Centre was represented by 65 delegates, and the Right Wing by 45. Of the 250,000 members of the Kuomintang, besides 70,000 soldiers, the Left and Communist Wing has 150,000 representatives, while the Right Wing and Centre has only 30,000. Nine-tenths of the local organisations of the Kuomintang are under the leadership of the Left Wing and the Communists.

In spite of this, a certain section of the National Government and the army command adhere to the Centre, which has the support of the industrial bourgeoisie, and in proportion as the enemy armies collapse and considerable sections come over to the side of the revolutionary army, the Right Wing element and the generals in it become stronger.

## A Liberal Philosopher

The principal intellectual leader of the Right Wing Kuomintang is Tai Chi-tao. The essence of his philosophy is as follows: the class struggle is denied, society is not divided into classes, but into the educated and the uneducated. It is the mission of the educated and ruling section to represent and protect the interests of the uneducated masses. As against class dictatorship it advocates revolutionary dictatorship, a government combining all classes which will "bring about Socialism" in the spirit of Sun-Yat-Sen during the process of the National Revolution. This group ignores the Communist International as the centre of the world revolution and aims at achieving a national revolution, i.e., a bourgeois revolution. Accordingly, it is inclined to take up the fight most aggressively against British imperialism, which is openly attacking the Chinese national revolution.

The actions of the generals and of the national government sometimes correspond with this philosophy, particularly in the provinces. Formally they accept the radical decisions of the Kuomintang, in which the Left Wing predominates; but in practice they do not always carry out these decisions unless extreme pressure is brought to bear on them by the masses.

When Chiang Kai-shek set out on the northern campaign, power in the Kwantung province was left in the hands of the Centre group of the Party. In the meantime, however, the strength of the Left Wing in the Kuomintang and outside of it increased considerably, and its influence spread to the broad masses of workers, peasants, merchants and students. In the Whampoa military academy 90 per cent of the students adhered to the Left Wing. The masses were dissatisfied with



**The Chinese Revolution—continued**

certain of the measures adopted by the Kwantung authorities, and on these grounds a Plenum of the central committee of the Kuomintang was convened in the middle of October, at which the members of the central committee and representatives of the district organisations were present. A considerable majority of the delegates at this Plenum belong to the Left Wing, and the decisions taken by the meeting also were determined by the Lefts. The Plenum passed a resolution demanding the return of the leader of the Left Wing, Wang Ting-wei, to his post as chairman of the Party. A resolution was also passed calling for disciplinary measures to be taken, including expulsion of the Right Kuomintangists, who attended the Sishan Conference (at which it was decided to form a special Right Wing Kuomintang organisation). The meeting confirmed the necessity of maintaining the alliance with the U.S.S.R. and drew up a programme of measures in the interests of the workers and peasants. One of the new leaders of the Left Wing, Kan Ne-kang, wrote a pamphlet in which he argued that the peasantry must serve as the class basis of the Kuomintang.

The decisions of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang did not call forth any formal protest on the part of the generals, or of the central government, but they are not being carried out. The old Kwantung provincial government, led by Ku Ing-fung, was removed from office last September. The government which took its place last November is not composed of a Left Wing majority; in fact only two members of the government belong to the Left. In Chiashow and Panho conflicts have taken place between the local authorities and the workers.

**Anti-Strike Laws**

Apparently as a retaliation against two strikes, which broke out in Canton as a result of friction between the workers and the local authorities (one at the arsenal in May, 1926, and the other a strike of bank clerks which took place on the 6th of December, 1926) on the 5th January, 1927, the Canton Government passed a new strike law by which the workers are prohibited from carrying arms during demonstrations, from arresting merchants and factory employers, and from confiscating their goods. This law also provided for the establishment of compulsory arbitration for the settlement of industrial conflicts. It contains certain paragraphs which protect the workers: strike-breaking and organising rival trade unions in the same enterprise is forbidden, big employers are prohibited from joining the trade unions, two months' wages are to be paid to the workers as compensation in the event of factories being closed down without due cause, wages are to be paid during strikes, etc. But in addition to these paragraphs which protect the interest of the workers there are others which restrict the freedom to strike to a far greater extent than is required by the needs of defence during the revolutionary war. For example, the law introduces compulsory arbitration, not only in enterprises concerned with military supplies, finance and municipal enterprises, but also enterprises supplying the general needs of the community, without a strict

definition being made. Under these paragraphs it would be possible to include all and every enterprise.

The energetic action of the masses, the vigilance and activity of the Left Wing element, frequently rectify at once the errors of the provincial authorities. For example, in Swatow the reactionary Mayor has been dismissed. Again, owing to the strong pressure brought to bear by the Left Wing, Ku Ying-feng, the Canton Government Commissioner (a reactionary who defended the interests of the landlords and the gentry), was dismissed and a follower of the Left Wing leader Wang Tin-wei, Chang So-yen, was appointed in his place. Commander Ho Ying-kwang, who in consequence of the war in Fukien had to withdraw his troops from Tungkiang, in the east of Kwantung, was obliged to abandon his hostility to the workers and peasants in order to be able to protect his rear with the aid of the latter. This gave the result that Tungkiang, which was formerly a stronghold of the Right Wing, is now coming more and more under the influence of the Left Wing.

**Right Wing Weakness**

We have said that through the vigilance of the Left Wing and the Communists it has been possible to rectify the errors of the provincial authorities. But the very fact that these mistakes are made with increasing frequency helps the Right Wing of the Kuomintang to raise its head and try to mobilise its forces. Some remarkable things are to be observed in the Right Wing at the present time. For example, a prominent Right Wing Kuomintangist, Ching Wei-feng, declared that: "Our most important task at the present time is to go on with the northern expedition; we should not insist so much just now upon our slogan of 'Down with imperialism.'" Another Right Wing Kuomintangist, Bai Lia-wu, said: "Apparently the Great Powers are ready to recognise the National Government; we must, therefore, cease the anti-imperialist movement in order to remove all obstacles to this recognition."

These statements are characteristic and are evidence of the fact that the revival of the Right Wing is closely connected with the pressure which the imperialists are bringing to bear upon the Canton Government by sending their cruisers to Shanghai on the one hand, and by their liberal promises on the other. In this way the imperialists hope to split up the national-revolutionary movement and to win over the Chinese bourgeoisie to their side.

**Communist Policy**

On the whole, our Communist Party is carrying on a correct policy, and is fully in touch with the political situation, but the extremely difficult and complex task which confronts it, owing to the growing acuteness of class antagonisms in China, give rise to Right or Left Wing deviations among certain comrades. For example, some comrades defend the principle of arbitration in all industrial disputes without exception. The government arbitration court would indeed serve as a sufficient guarantee of the interests of the workers if the Communists were in the government and had a determining influence in it. But this is not the case yet, and for that reason the workers roused to the fight by the revolution cannot abandon the right to strike, insofar as this



## The Chinese Revolution—continued

right does not directly run counter to the interests of the revolutionary war.

On the other hand, certain comrades betray Left deviations. The political report submitted to the Extraordinary Conference of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held on December 13, 1926, contained the following facts, for example. One Cantonese comrade declared: "The Kuomintang died on March 20, and on May 15 its body became decomposed. Why should we hold a decomposed corpse in our arms?" These words express a very dangerous Left deviation. In the first place it is not true that the Kuomintang has decayed. As we have seen its influence among the masses is increasing and the influence of the Left Wing in the Party is increasing. The task, therefore, is not for the Communists to abandon the Kuomintang, which the enemies of the Chinese revolution would be very glad to see, but to increase the influence of the Left majority on the Government and on the army.

## A Dangerous Mistake

A similar and dangerous mistake is made by the Canton organisation of our Party. In the report of the latter there is the following statement: "As for the Left Wing, it may be said that this is non-existent." The report of the Central Committee quite rightly remarks in this connection that this statement is called forth by the "lack of proportion" in the understanding on the part of the Canton district organisation of the term Left Wing. The Canton comrades are so dissatisfied with the fight of the Left Kuomintangists for the agrarian revolution, which is indeed far-reaching, that they consider that the Left Wing does not exist at all. This is wrong. The Left Wing and the Communists cannot be measured with the same yard-stick. To the extent that the Lefts are prepared to continue the way

against the imperialists and the reactionary militarists, and in so far as they are prepared to support the fight for the immediate demands of the peasantry against the landlords and the gentry for the reduction of rent and interest, and for the organisation and arming of the peasantry against the landlords and the reactionary militia, etc., they cannot be ignored as a driving force of the revolution. On the basis of this incorrect appreciation of the Kuomintang, our comrades who betray these Left deviations come to the wrong conclusion that "we are on the side of the masses against the national government . . . that from the conflict between the masses and the national government emerges the conflict between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang." From these words it logically follows that the task of the Communist Party at the present time is not to win influence in the national government and to permeate it, but to overthrow it. If this view were widely adopted in our Party it would cause considerable rejoicing among the enemies of the Chinese revolution.

In the report of the Central Committee, it says further that in the Kuomintang we have not conducted properly the policy of compromise between the artisans and office employees on the one hand, and the middle and petty traders on the other—in Changsha and Wuhan, for example—and that the excessive demands put forward by the artisans and office employees in these cities compelled the middle and petty traders to join with the Chamber of Commerce against the trade unions. If this is what happened, then the mistake must be put right. Since we aim at bringing about an alliance between the proletariat, the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie under the leadership of the proletariat, it is perfectly clear that, while resolutely defending the interests of the artisans we must approach the interests of the small traders with extreme caution in order not to give the urban petty bourgeoisie a pretext for breaking away from the revolutionary alliance and rushing into the arms of the counter-revolutionary big bourgeoisie.

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**The Chinese Revolution—continued**

The Right and Left deviations revealed by certain of our comrades in the Chinese Party are to be explained by the lack of a distinct understanding of the character and peculiarities of the Chinese revolution, as a result of which the actions and speeches of certain of our comrades are dictated by their moods. Consequently they deviate from the correct and consistent proletarian policy, in spite of the very best intentions.

In the discussion on the revolution on the Chinese question at the VII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I., it was pointed out that an analogy could be drawn between the Russian revolution of 1905 and the Chinese revolution, but that at the same time the latter bore some very specific features.

**Right and Left Errors**

The first of these specific features is that it is directed against imperialism, and that it is proceeding under conditions of declining capitalism, and therefore that it can be victorious only in alliance with the U.S.S.R. and with the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat; that in the conditions of the struggle against imperialism the dictatorship of the proletariat, the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie (which will be established for the purpose of achieving the democratic aims of the revolution and the national liberation of China), if it is successful must inevitably grow into the social revolution; that consequently the Chinese national liberation movement is part of the world proletarian revolution as distinct from previous national liberation movements which were part of the general democratic movement. The lack of a distinct understanding of this specific feature of the Chinese revolution and of the strategy that logically follows from this is the cause of **RIGHT DEVIATIONS** by various comrades which reveal themselves in the half-hearted resistance offered to Tai Chi-taoism and to the actions of the Right Wing.

The fact that the Chinese national liberation movement is directed against imperialism and against the encroachments of foreign capital in China creates another feature which distinguishes the Chinese revolution from the Russian revolution of 1905, a distinction which is ignored by those comrades who betray **LEFT DEVIATIONS**. Unlike Tsarist Russia, modern China suffers from the general invasion of foreign capitalism and is a semi-colony. For that reason in the first stages of the Chinese revolution the revolutionary front was much more extensive than it was in Russia in 1905. In Russia in 1905 the revolutionary movement was led by the proletarian Party. That party was the first anti-government party to arise, and was the unquestioned leader of the revolutionary movement. The liberal bourgeoisie in Russia, from time to time, dragged at the tail of the proletarian party, and every time a hitch took place in the movement they tried to come to a compromise with the Tsarist autocracy. The situation in China is altogether different.

Owing to the oppression of imperialism in China, which affects not only the workers and the peasants but also the young industrial bourgeoisie whose development is hindered by foreign capital, the revolutionary movement in China embraces large sections of the bourgeoisie. Unlike Russia in 1905, the initiative of the revolution

in China in 1919 emanated from the industrial bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intelligentsia. Owing to this and also to the fact that China had become split up, it was possible for the revolutionary war to break out under the leadership of generals who are closely connected with the bourgeoisie but fought against the feudal governors, the northern militarists and against imperialism.

**Need for Concessions**

Hence in determining its attitude towards the national government and the leaders of the revolutionary army, the Communist Party of China cannot simply copy the tactics of the Bolsheviks in relation to the Russian liberal bourgeoisie of 1905. The Chinese Communist Party, as the Russian Bolsheviks were in 1905, is confronted with the urgent problem of establishing the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry (and urban petty bourgeoisie), under the leadership of the proletariat. But the path to this dictatorship is not the same as it was in the case of the Bolsheviks in 1905.

While marching towards this goal, the Communist Party must take care, however, to avoid putting a spoke in the wheel of the revolutionary army led by the bourgeois generals and the national government; on the contrary, it must support their revolutionary work. This peculiar situation dictates to the Communist Party of China the task of establishing the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie, at the present stage, at a time when the Communists are not yet directly in power, to strive to weaken the dictatorial propensities of some of the nationalist generals by strengthening democratic liberties and not by an open struggle for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the General Staff and its substitution by the dictatorship of the oppressed classes.

The peculiar circumstance of the Chinese revolution, the fact that it is directed against imperialism, which oppresses various classes of the Chinese population and partly also the peculiar economic structure of the country, brings it about that the dictatorship of the revolutionary classes towards which the Communist Party of China strives, as distinct from the dictatorship for which the Russian Bolsheviks strove in 1905 must unite, not only the proletariat with the peasantry, but also the proletariat with the urban petty bourgeoisie, *i.e.*, the artisans and the petty traders, who represent a large proportion of the Chinese population, numbering about ten million. In so far as it is anticipated that this alliance will be a fairly prolonged one, the proletariat of China will have to make concessions to the urban petty bourgeoisie and particularly to the petty and middle bourgeoisie which the proletariat in Russia was not called upon to make in 1905.

**Flexibility**

The peculiar circumstances of the Chinese revolution, that it comes face to face with powerful world imperialism which is threatening direct intervention, brings it about also that the Communist Party of China must reveal considerable flexibility on this front, it must strive to utilise the antagonisms between the various imperialist States. This partly explains the fact that the Communist Party of China in the present stage of the revolution supports the bourgeois autonomist movement in the three provinces of Kiangsu, Anhwei,



**The Chinese Revolution—continued**

and Chekiang, to serve as a buffer between the revolutionary forces and the principal base of the Shanghai militarists.

We see that owing to the peculiar conditions of the Chinese revolution the Communist Party must reveal extreme flexibility. But the change must be made. A re-grouping of the forces of the revolution is inevitable and cannot be postponed. The fight against the bourgeoisie for the leadership of the revolution is the immediate task. The task of establishing the revolutionary alliance between the proletariat, the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie must not be lost sight of for a single moment. This will determine the future prospects of the Chinese revolution, viz., whether China develops along non-capitalist lines, whether the Chinese revolution becomes a link in the world proletarian revolution, or whether China adopts a bourgeois system in which its position as an economic vassal of world imperialism is maintained. How is the goal to be attained? This question was replied to by the resolution of the VII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. In order to assure the leadership of the proletariat in the revolution, the Communists, while extending their work among the masses, establishing a mass workers' and peasants' organisation, and relying upon them must, first of all, join the National Government; secondly, strengthen their positions in the army, strive to occupy leading posts in it in order to establish close contact between the revolutionary army and the workers' and peasants' organisation. Only if this is done will the National Government carry out a consistent policy completely corresponding with the interests of the workers, the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie. Only if this is done will revolutionary order, which is so essential for the revolution, be established and in many cases will it be possible to settle conflicts which at present are settled by strikes and spontaneous peasant movements by means of government arbitration committees and by government decrees.

The question is: Can this aim be achieved? Will the Communists succeed in securing participation in the government without a determined conflict with the existing authorities, without a second revolution? In our opinion this is not impossible. The Communists and the classes with which they are connected already play such an important part in the Chinese revolution that, as indeed is clear to all, the gains of the revolution which have been achieved already could not have been achieved without their aid. Although the army plays an important part in the Chinese revolution, it would be foolish to believe that it operates in a vacuum or to ignore the fact that its successes have been to a large degree determined by the revolutionary movement of the masses and their leaders.

**How Workers Helped**

It should not be forgotten that the consolidation of the power of the Canton Government and of the strength of the Canton army would have been impossible, if it were not for the strike of the Hong Kong workers. It must not be forgotten that the northern expedition would have been impossible if the Shanghai strikes had not made the revolutionary movement of China nation-wide. It must not be forgotten that it was the workers who

seized the Hankow concession. It must not be forgotten that although they are mercenaries, the soldiers of the revolutionary armies are nevertheless recruited from among the proletarianised peasants, and that their firmness is to a large degree determined by the sweep of the revolutionary peasant movement. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that if the demands of the peasantry are not met and the peasants in disgust abandon the revolution, it will be doomed to defeat, as has been proved by the unsuccessful fighting between the Kuomintang and Wu Pei-fu, who was able to take advantage of the discontent of the peasantry.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the wide sweep and the victories which the Chinese revolution has now attained would have been impossible were it not for its alliance with the U.S.S.R. and the world proletarian revolutionary movement. Finally, the Communists have had favourable influence upon the strategy of the nationalist generals by removing the antagonisms between them and helping to establish a United Front among them. The revolutionary army might have suffered a very serious defeat in Kiangsu had it not been for the Left elements, as the result of whose efforts two army corps came to the timely assistance of the fighting revolutionary forces.

Because of all this, the fulfilment of the immediate tasks of the national-liberation movement, the unification of China and its liberation from the encroachment of world imperialism, is impossible unless the working class and its Communist Party take the lead in alliance with the world proletariat. And precisely for that reason the participation of the Communists in the government becomes possible without very much trouble.

The enemies of the Chinese revolution are perfectly well aware of the enormous part played by the Communists, and know that but for them the backbone of the revolution would have been broken long ago. For that reason in their campaign against the Cantonese armies, who are certainly not led by Communists, the

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**The Chinese Revolution—continued**

principal aim of the northern militarists is to eliminate the "snake" of Communism from China. In this connection the political declaration issued by Sun Chuan-fang on December 26, is quite characteristic. This declaration commences with the following words: "I have undertaken the expedition into Kiangsu in order to defend my provinces. Unfortunately I have been deprived of this province. If this were a question of my personal interest, or the interests of my name, I could find a way out, but now I have determined to continue the war against our enemies in order to save our country from the danger of being over-run by Soviet Communism." In conclusion the declaration states that as soon as this aim has been achieved, as soon as the Communist hydra in China has been beheaded, Sun Chuan-fang will be prepared to resign from all his posts.

While the avowed enemies of the revolution admit that it is impossible to suppress the revolution without destroying the Communists, on the other hand, even the

unreliable and inconsistent friends of the revolution in China have a glimmering of the fact that without the Communists the Chinese revolution cannot be victorious. It is a remarkable fact that none other than Tai Chi-tao, the philosopher of the Right Wing, in a speech delivered to the students of the Sun Yat-sen university in Canton, at the time when the last conference of the Central Committee was being held last October, stated that: "The Communists in our Kuomintang are the locomotives, we Kuomintangists represent passenger or freight cars. Without the locomotives the cars would not move, without the Communists the Chinese revolution cannot associate itself with the world revolution."

It is precisely this important part which the Communists play in the Chinese revolution, equally admitted both by the enemies and the friends of the revolution in spite of their wavering and irresolution, which indicates that the strategy of the Communist Party of China drawn up by the VII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. can be carried out if the Communist Party of China exerts every effort to do so.

# Class and National Struggles in Palestine

A. Shami

**I**N spite of the obstacles which British Imperialism puts in the way of the development of the country, capitalism nevertheless is making progress. The character of agriculture is slowly but surely changing; the number of plantations in the country is increasing. The development of agriculture is causing a considerable increase in the number of agricultural workers employed.

But parallel with the increase in the demand for labour power there is also an increase in the supply. A rapid process of class differentiation is taking place in the rural districts. The upper strata of the peasantry are adopting more intensive forms of cultivation, while the lower classes are becoming more and more impoverished and are being compelled to seek employment on the big Arabian and Jewish plantations. Thousands migrate into the towns and increase the army of unemployed there. In the towns the number of Arab workshops and factories is increasing and a transition from hand manufacture to factory production is to be observed.

Since 1925 the country has been experiencing a severe economic crisis. At bottom this is a crisis in the Zionist speculative enterprises, and the general crisis is but a reflection of this. Consequently, the effects of the crisis are experienced more severely by the Jewish workers than by the Arab workers. Of the 32,000 registered Jewish workers 8,000 are totally unemployed, and the majority of these have been unemployed for over a year. The number working short-time is 4,000.

## Unemployment

The workers who suffer most from unemployment are those of the building trades. The number of unemployed Arab workers is not less than 10,000. Several thousand refugees fled from Syria owing to the suppression of the revolution there, have further increased the number of unemployed.

Although the government takes over £1,000,000 from the population of Palestine it does not spend a farthing for the relief of unemployment.

The prolonged slump in the labour market has led to a very serious deterioration in the conditions of labour. From August 1925 to 1926 wages have been reduced to one-third and even one-fourth. The wages of the Arab workers have also dropped from 20 to 50 per cent. Formerly the Jewish workers used to earn considerably more than the Arab workers, but now the wages of both categories have become more nearly equal.

To a considerable degree this is due to the fact that the Jewish trade unions, affiliated to the Amsterdam International, refused to carry on work among the Arab workers. The equalisation of wages took place not as a result of the wages of the Arab workers being raised but because there was a bigger drop in the wages of the Jewish workers than in those of the Arab workers. Until recently the working day of the Arab workers ranged from 10 to 14 hours; now the Jewish urban workers have been compelled to sacrifice the 8-hour day and work from 10 to 12 hours a day.

## Wages Halved

This is the situation in the towns. In the "colonies," however, where the Zionists have artificially concentrated 10,000 Jewish workers, the wages of the Jewish workers have in many cases dropped below the level of the wages of the Arab workers (6-8-10 piastres per day). In order to intensify competition among the workers and to cause wages to fall still lower the Jewish farmer employers employ Bedouins from remote districts, who are content to accept from 3 to 4 piastres per day.

After the steady depression of the economic conditions of the workers the bourgeoisie have been carrying on an attack, for the past few months against the political rights of the workers. In a number of factories organised workers are dismissed and unorganised workers are taken on in their stead. The property owners' and farmers' organisations are striving, not without success, to deprive the workers of the right to vote in local self-government bodies.



## Struggles in Palestine

Nothing has been done to promote measures for the social defence of the workers. A labour protection law has been passed, for example, according to which the worker who meets with an accident receives compensation—but only on the following conditions: (1) if he has been employed by the same employer for not less than three years; (2) if it has been established by the court that the accident occurred while he was fulfilling his duty for the employer. This law does not apply to agricultural workers, or to workers employed in small enterprises, or to office workers—not even to railway employees (the latter have been declared to be “casual” workers).

## No Factory Laws

The law does not provide for factory legislation, and this alone nullifies the whole act. At the same time another law was passed prohibiting picketing or any attempt to influence strike-breakers; in a word, depriving the workers of the possibility of striking.

It is not surprising that the rapid deterioration of the conditions of the workers is causing considerable emigration from the country, particularly among the Jews. In the first quarter of 1925 9,000 immigrants arrived in the country and 800 left, whereas in the fourth quarter 2,551 persons arrived in the country and 2,570 emigrated.

Owing to deterioration in the conditions of the Jewish workers, a process of class differentiation is taking place within the Jewish community similar to that taking place among the Arabs. The causes of this process are as follows: Capital employing methods of frank exploitation has taken the place of nationalist-philanthropic capital which concealed the process of exploitation of the workers. The growth of capital has relieved the Zionist organisations of the necessity for supporting the “Socialistic” experiments of the Histadrut, the Jewish Labour organisation. The following figures excellently illustrate this fact. In 1923 the membership of urban Labour “collectives” (producing co-operative groups) was 1,522 whereas in 1925 it had dropped to 1,140. The situation with regard to rural “collectives” is no better. In 1925 43 per cent. of the agricultural workers in the country were organised in communes, and 25 per cent. were organised on co-operative societies—68 per cent. in all. The number of wage workers was then only 32 per cent. In 1926 the total membership of all collectives was only 63 per cent.

The piece-work system introduced through the medium of the “Histadrut” enabled the employers to force down wages. The enormous number of unemployed still further accelerates the process of reducing wages. To this should be added also the increasing employment of female and child labour (11,000 working women and 6,000 children).

## The Labour Movement

As a consequence of the worsening of conditions of labour the class struggle has become more intensified. Strikes are increasing both in frequency and in dimensions; severe economic conflicts are breaking out.

The development of economic conflicts in the principal cities, such as Jaffa, Jerusalem, Haifa, is seen from the following table:—

Year.		Number of Strikes.	Number of Strikers involved.	Number of days lost.
1919	...	1	40	560
1920	...	5	44	591
1921	...	9	253	3,775
1922	...	9	460	1,993
1923	...	27	634	6,044
1924	...	32	906	19,798
1925 (first half)...		30	1,334	18,873

The above table refers only to strikes that have taken place among the Jewish workers; there are no precise statistics of strikes among the Arab workers, but their number is increasing.

During recent years strikes have broken out which exclusively affected Arab workers. For example, there was the strike at the Vilanda brick and tile works, a strike of masons in Nablus, a builders' strike in Nazareth, a strike of carpenters in Haifa, of dock workers in Jaffa, and of agricultural labourers in Heder. Even this scanty information is sufficient to indicate the growth of class antagonisms among the Arabs and consequently of the class consciousness of the Arab workers. Side by side with this we observe an increase in their desire to organise.

In 1921-22 there was hardly a single organised Arab worker, but towards the end of 1926 400 Arab workers belonged to the Histadrut and over 1,000 Arab workers belong to various national unions.

## Government Attitude

At first the government maintained an attitude of neutrality towards the economic struggle. The causes of this were (1) the struggle was very limited in scope; (2) the economic struggle did not seriously affect British interests for the reason that at that time there were no British enterprises in the country; (3) for political reasons the government adopted a condescending attitude towards the Histadrut. During the last two or three years, however, the situation has changed considerably. A number of British enterprises are already in operation and others are being established (the Haifa port, the Ruthenburg Electrical Company, the Jackson concession, the cement works, etc.). The political conditions of the country have also changed. Consequently the government has recently been intervening more and more in economic conflicts.

Arrests have taken place not only of revolutionary workers but also the extremely moderate representatives of the Histadrut. The police actively assist strike-breakers and disperse strikers. This kind of activity makes itself felt most particularly in connection with the efforts to organise the Arab workers. The government knows very well that if the Arab workers are organised successfully the whole character of the Labour movement in the country will be entirely changed. It was this that prompted the government to pass the Labour law already mentioned.

Up to 1925 the Histadrut was the only industrial organisation in the country (with the exception of the revolutionary Central Bureau of Trade Unions which was established in 1925, but was short-lived, and the organisation committees established in 1922). Since



**Struggles in Palestine**—continued

1925, however, several Arab Labour organisations have sprung up (Nablus, Haifa, Jerusalem, Jaffa, Nazareth and Bethlehem).

The Arab Labour organisations are as yet somewhat weak, but there is every prospect of their development. In connection with the beginning of a Labour movement among the Arab workers there is a marked tendency among the Jewish workers, even those who have formerly been entirely under the influence of the Zionist parties, towards international organisations.

**The National Movement**

Immediately after the war the national movement in Palestine increased considerably. In 1919 the first Arab congress was called; it put forward the demand for independence. The congress elected an executive committee with Musa Kaizim Pasha as chairman. Muslim-Christian clubs were established all over the country, the object of which was to organise the national movement against the British-Zionist occupation. In spite of the fact that the movement swept in large sections of the population and bore a revolutionary character, the majority of the leaders were large feudal landowners who sought to reach a compromise with the British, and therefore carried on their agitation among the masses not against the British, but against their Zionist agents. The same attitude was adopted by the delegation that was sent to Europe to seek support among British Conservative circles, as well as by the clubs and newspapers in Palestine. Hanging round on the doorsteps of British peers of course produced nothing.

The majority of the old leaders of the Palestine national movement are prepared to compromise with the British if they can obtain certain privileges for themselves. This is perfectly well understood by the British, and therefore their efforts are directed towards disrupting the national movement by making all sorts of "concessions" and by setting one group against the other.

**Election Dope**

At the present time the British are trying to disrupt the national movement through the medium of the municipal elections. Hitherto, the municipal commissions were appointed by the British. The establishment of municipal elections at the present time has a two-fold purpose; first, to distract the attention of the population from the demand for the establishment of a parliamentary regime in the country, and secondly to cause discord among the nationalist leaders in the fight to obtain seats on the municipal bodies. The right to vote is based on an extremely high qualification (so much so that in certain towns only a few hundred citizens have the right to vote), and the elections take place according to religious denominations. The British have achieved their object brilliantly.

The attention of the population is wholly absorbed in the elections, around which inter-tribal conflicts are taking place. The principal tribes: the Husseins, Nashishibi, Dazhani and others are fighting for seats and influence in the municipalities. The British and the Zionists, including the Zionist Socialist parties, are taking part in the election conflicts and support the Nashashibi tribe against the Husseins.

In recent years events in Syria have influenced the national movement in Palestine, and the radical elements are increasing in influence. The latter are largely controlled by "Istiklal," the Arab revolutionary party.

**The Communist Party**

The Communist Party, which was first known as the Socialist Party of Palestine, was established in 1919. It was broken up by the authorities in 1921 and is now with great difficulty again gathering its forces. At the same time the Party is purging itself of all survivals of reformist and Jewish national ideology (Poale-Zion) as well as of the ultra-Left and anarchist elements. In 1924 it was accepted as a section of the Comintern and since then it has devoted considerable attention to work among the Arab toilers.

The Party has always devoted most of its attention to work among the organised workers. At the end of 1922, when the Congress of the Histadrut Haglalit—the General Workers' Union—was being held a special trade union body was formed known as the Labour group in the Histadrut. This Labour group had its representatives at the Congress, and when the Congress came to an end it carried on considerable propaganda work in spreading the principles of the R.I.L.U. Clubs were formed in all cities which carried on systematic work. A number of publications were issued both in the Jewish and Arab languages. The Labour group had a large following of Arab workers. Its influence grew and it began to represent a serious menace to the Histadrut leaders. In the spring of 1924 the Labour group was expelled from the Histadrut for "betraying the interests of the Jewish people and the proletariat of Palestine." Not only were the members of the Labour group, who were known to the Histadrut leaders, expelled, but it was also resolved "to expel in the future all those who share the views of the group and continue its activity in any shape or form." Up till now over 200 members of the group have been expelled.

**Right Wing Treachery**

The leaders of the Histadrut, after expelling the members of the Labour group, betrayed the latter to the police. Its clubs were closed down and the group declared to be an illegal body. Those who belong to it are liable to arrest in the same way as those belonging to the Communist Party.

In spite of all persecution, however, the Labour group continues to exist. It publishes literature (which is frequently confiscated by the authorities).

In 1925 the "Unity" movement sprang up. The platform of this movement is: national and international unity of the trade union movement. The Unity movement soon became a mass movement. For example, in spite of very strong intimidation over 2,500 signatures were obtained for a petition to the Executive Committee

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**Struggles in Palestine—continued**

on the Histadrut (September, 1926) to withdraw the ban upon the Labour group. Three conferences were called, one in the Jaffa district, one in Haifa, and one national conference (in December, 1926). The latter conference was extremely successful, 80 delegates being present of whom 20 were Arabs, representing 2,000 workers.

This conference caused a commotion. The press devoted considerable attention to it, and mention was made of it even in the Syrian and Egyptian press.

The success of the Unity movement has attracted the attention of the leaders of the Histadrut as well as of the police. The leaders of the movement are already being threatened with expulsion; the Unity clubs are being closed down.

The idea of Unity is permeating the most conservative and hitherto most "patriotic" sections of the agricultural workers. A Histadrut "opposition" is springing up among them.

In spite of the fact that all "suspects" were deprived of votes, the opposition ticket at the elections of the Third Congress of the Histadrut, December, 1926, obtained 250 votes. The influence of the Party and the Unity movement is also permeating the independent Arab trade unions.

**Police Terror**

The Party has to work under most extremely difficult conditions. The police terror against the revolutionary movement in the country is increasing. The extent of this terror may be judged from the fact that during the first year in which the order declaring the Labour group to be an illegal body was in operation, 70 persons were arrested for belonging to the Communist Party or to the Labour group and the total sentences passed upon them amount to 20 years' imprisonment.

In addition to the British terror operating in the country, there is the public terror exercised against the

"Bolsheviks." In this are combined the Zionist bourgeoisie, the Socialists affiliated to the Second International, and the Mohammedan clerical reactionaries. Any weapon is regarded as good enough to use against the Communists, ranging from denunciations to the police to assassinations.

The most serious weapon employed against the Communists is the economic boycott. As soon as a worker earns the reputation of being a good Communist he is immediately discharged from his employment, and every measure is taken to prevent this "traitor" and "atheist" from obtaining employment elsewhere. There are many members of the Party who have not been able to obtain a single day's employment in the course of a whole year.

**Party's Difficulties**

"Factionalists" are removed from the registers of the Labour Exchanges and no unemployed or sick benefit is paid to them. The sick insurance authorities are even prohibited from rendering medical assistance to Communists and their families when they require it.

Another difficulty which the Communist Party has to encounter is that of the national antagonisms and diversity of the language. Since 1923 hardly a single month has passed but one of more persons have been killed in conflicts arising from national and religious antagonisms. All agitation for solidarity and joint organisation between the Jewish and Arab workers is regarded as "Bolshevism." In view of the numerous and diverse languages every campaign requires a disproportionately large number of workers and forces.

The country is not a large one, and the working class represents a small section of the population. It is sufficient for a working man to speak out once or twice in the opposition for him to become a marked man long before he joins the Party. All these difficulties create extremely complex circumstances for the Communist Party and compels it constantly to seek new paths and methods of Party work.

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# The Manoeuvres of British Imperialism

[This article was written before the publication of Chamberlain's Note to Russia. It appeared as an unsigned editorial in one of the weekly Russian and German editions of the "Communist International".]

THE British Conservatives appear to be somewhat disappointed. When they organised their campaign against the U.S.S.R., conducted with such persistence and cynicism for many months, they hoped that with the opening of the new session of Parliament that the speech from the throne would contain a bold challenge to the Soviet Government. It turned out, however, that not a word was contained in the King's speech concerning the "most burning question that ever engaged the minds of all right-thinking Englishmen, the need to expel the Soviet diplomats and the Soviet agents, who have so seriously abused their privileged positions." ("Daily Mail.") The same note of disappointment is heard in the amendments to the Address that were put forward by some of the Die-Hards in the House of Commons. These Die-Hards are not satisfied with the fact that the King's speech promised them legislation to stop almost any kind of trade union activity whatever. Nor have they been consoled by the "peaceful" declarations made by the Government concerning China, which were followed even before the debate on the King's speech was finished by the despatch of troops to Hong-Kong and Shanghai. They wanted the King's speech to breathe threats to all the enemies of British imperialism, in England as well as outside it, and particularly to the Union of Soviet Republics, the very existence of which intensifies the movement for freedom of the oppressed peoples.

## The Campaign Against Russia

How is Baldwin's silence concerning the U.S.S.R. to be explained? It would be a mistake of course to believe that it implies a serious change in the policy of the British Government. The leaders of the British Empire were not only aware of the campaign of lies and slander conducted against the U.S.S.R. right up to the opening of Parliament; they actually led this campaign. This campaign was not conducted only in the British Isles; a whole army of British agents was scattered over the whole world, worked and continued to work with astonishing zeal for the mobilisation and the consolidation of all the forces of reaction which could in one way or another be used in the attack against the First Workers' Republic. The British Imperialists may even boast of their agents having achieved certain successes in this work. At the time when the official and unofficial British press is subduing its tone towards the Soviet Government, the close Fascist friends of Mr. Winston Churchill are shouting very loudly about the "burning question" concerning which Mr. Baldwin found it expedient to remain silent. We know also that the work of the British imperialists has been crowned with success in Lithuania, and that it is being continued with intensity in all parts of the world.

Naturally, we must come to the conclusion that there has been a hitch in the conspiracy against the Soviet

Union, or that a definite tactical manoeuvre is being worked out.

In order properly to understand the tactical line of the Baldwin Government, we must understand the interrelation of forces in Britain itself. We have already pointed out in these columns that the Conservative Government loosened its belt, as it were, after the miners had been compelled to accept the severe conditions imposed upon them by the mineowners. The ruling classes of England were literally intoxicated with victory. Even to this very day their enthusiasm and joy know no bounds; they proudly announced to the world that a smaller number of miners turn out a larger quantity of coal and more cheaply than formerly. They are not in the least concerned with the fact that their victory has resulted in the increase of the army of unemployed, an increase in the number of accidents in the mines and a deterioration in the conditions of the whole working class. That does not trouble them in the least. All they know and are concerned about is that they have managed to get their own way and secure a reduction in the price of their commodities at the cost of reducing the standard of living of the workers.

## The Conference of Execution

At the same time the last few weeks have brought many surprises to the ruling classes of Great Britain. During the miners' lock-out and the nine-days General Strike the Government had every ground for believing that they could control and direct the Labour movement by relying not only upon the leading group of the Labour Party, headed by MacDonald, but also upon the General Council of the Trades Union Congress. The first stage of the struggle—the General Strike—was liquidated not by the Government, but by the General Council. All the documents that have been recently published in connection with the Conference of Trade Union Executives show in an astonishingly convincing manner that during the course of these nine great days the General Strike was growing and becoming consolidated from day to day. On the day of black treachery of the General Council, May 12th, the General Strike had not yet reached its zenith, it was still growing and developing.

Without any special effort on the part of the Government, this great battle, which objectively was a menace to British imperialism, was betrayed by the General Staff of the Labour movement. In the months that followed the General Strike the General Council continued loyally to serve the mineowners' Government. While the Conference of Trade Union Executives was discussing the report of the General Council, on January 20th and 21st, Baldwin could triumphantly declare that he acted with certainty of success when he proposed that the leadership of the miners' struggle should be concentrated in the hands of the General Council. The Conference of Trade Union Executives did not utter a single word of condemnation of the mineowners, of the Baldwin Government, or of the capitalist offensive which found expression in the miners' lock-out. The conference was concerned more with fighting Cook and the miners, while the General Council was sufficiently strong to se-



**British Imperialism—continued**

cure a vote of censure of the miners in order to prevent any attempt on the part of the Minority to discuss the real sense of the struggle which the miners had waged for seven months and which ended so tragically. In its outbursts of patriotic loyalty, the conference went so far as to refuse to discuss a resolution on the menace of war which was moved in connection with the policy of the British Government towards China.

The Baldwin Government of course had every ground for hoping and assuming that it would get the support of the entire bureaucracy of the Labour movement, *i.e.*, of the Labour Party and the trade unions, in its imperialist adventures. The speeches delivered by certain Labour leaders on most important questions of international policy would appear to have justified the optimistic expectations of Baldwin the peace maker and his colleagues. It turns out, however, that the Government was cruelly deceived in its calculations. It did not take into account the wide gulf that separated the broad masses of the workers from the permanent officials of the Labour movement. This gulf has become wider and deeper during the last few months. First of all MacDonald and J. H. Thomas had to learn that they could not ignore the temper of the masses of the proletariat, and later Baldwin had to confess that the British working class was still alive and flourishing, and that it was impossible to settle any serious questions of international policy without taking their moods and aspirations into consideration.

**Rank and File Awakening**

It is necessary to deal with the events of this struggle in greater detail. It was already clear at the time the Conference of Executives was being held that an active section of the working class was far from sympathetic towards the policy adopted by the General Council, led by Thomas and Pugh. In spite of the fact that there is a fair number of reactionary and compromising officials in the miners' union, the miners at this Conference made a definite indictment against the General Council.

The miners' conduct proved that the General Council can represent and lead the workers only as long as its policy does not run contrary to the direct interest of the workers. The miners, who were compelled to taste the bitter fruit of the treachery of the General Council, advanced in serried ranks against the rest of the trade union bureaucracy. The miners enjoyed enormous sympathy among the workers engaged in other branches of industry. This is indicated not only by the success of the Conference organised by the Minority Movement in the important industrial centres in England, but also by the fact that the Conference of Executives dared not accept the proposal made by the Miners' Executive to submit the report of the General Council and the counter-report of the Miners' Executive to a referendum of the trade union membership. The conference even feared to vote on the question, and preferred to accept the explanation of the Standing Orders Committee that it was not necessary to submit the question to the trade union membership, which so splendidly responded to the call for the strike and which was roused to such indignation by its unexpected liquidation.

**J.R.M. Excels Chamberlain**

At this time, however, the Labour leaders had not yet sufficiently judged the temper of the masses of the workers. MacDonald with cynical effrontery delivered speeches defending the policy of the British Government in China. In this he went even further than Lloyd George, praised the "sensible" policy of Sir Austen Chamberlain and tried to assure British public opinion that the British Government had sent its very best peace-makers to China, and that they would be able to settle all controversial questions without resorting to pressure. J. H. Thomas went even further than Ramsay MacDonald and defended the despatch of troops, his only concern being that they should be sent in sufficiently large numbers. MacDonald was disturbed by only two minor circumstances: he feared "Communist intrigues" in England and the "irresponsible conduct of the mob" in China. In other words the leaders of the Opposition tried to excel Chamberlain and exercised all their authority to discredit the "mob" in China and the Communists in England.

Meanwhile the servile leaders tried to help the British Government in their campaign against the U.S.S.R. In this Clynes, Snowden and Citrine distinguished themselves above all others. Clynes thought this the most convenient moment to attack the U.S.S.R. in the columns of the organ of finance capital, "The Financial Times." At the same time Snowden tried to persuade the British workers that Cook was a traitor and agent of insidious Moscow. Citrine, the new Secretary of the General Council, decided that the British Labour movement must aid the British reactionaries in their aggressive plans against the U.S.S.R. in order to take revenge upon Lozovsky for publishing his pamphlet: "British and Russian Workers," in which he refers in unflattering terms to those who betrayed first, the General Strike, and later the miners' struggle. Citrine is a comparatively young trade union official who attained the position of secretary of the Trades Union Congress by posing as a representative of the Left Wing. He is insured against dismissal by the tradition prevailing in the trade union movement that officials must be permanent, and now he is doing all he can to please Thomas and those whose moods and aspirations Thomas expresses. On the 7th January, this new adjutant of J. H. Thomas, wrote the following:

**Citrine's Politeness**

"We admit that the break-up of the Anglo-Russian Committee may encourage the forces of reaction in our country, who would only be too glad to take advantage of every opportunity to break off diplomatic relations with Russia and possibly also join an aggressive alliance against it." (Retranslated from the Russian.)

This is expressed rather delicately. Citrine knows perfectly well, of course, that there is no need for Great Britain to join an aggressive alliance against Russia, she has already done so. The alliance in the form in which it exists is the work of Great Britain. But it goes without saying that Citrine, who has the effrontery to attack the miners, must be very polite when he deals with the mineowners' government.

Citrine's idea, however, is perfectly clear in spite of the hypocritical form in which it is expressed. Citrine understands perfectly well that his attempt to break up



**British Imperialism—continued**

the Anglo-Russian Committee will strengthen imperialist reaction. At the same time, however, having taken over the job of secretary of the Anglo-Russian Committee, vacant by the death of Fred Bramley who worked so conscientiously for the formation of the Committee, Citrine has the impudence to declare that Lozovsky's pamphlet has filled the cup of endurance to overflowing. Parodying Lord Curzon he sends an ultimatum to the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions, demanding that the latter should repudiate the pamphlet.

**"Hands off China"**

Baldwin's adjutants soon discovered that they had gone too far. In spite of MacDonald's warnings against Communist intrigues and against self-appointed organisations, a Labour Council for Chinese Freedom was established on the suggestion and with the co-operation of the Communists. In its programme this body demands the recognition of the Canton Government as the government of China, and the withdrawal of foreign troops from China.

This Council is not very revolutionary in character; its reformist members are striving all the time to erect a bridge between MacDonald and the masses of the workers; but the very formation of this Council in itself shows that the attitude adopted by MacDonald is not supported by the workers and that artificial measures were necessary in order to smooth out these differences. At the same time "Hands off China" committees were formed in a number of industrial centres and the movement against the intervention in China assumed a really mass character.

**Pressure on MacDonald**

This mass movement forced the Labour leaders to think hard. The Independent Labour Party, whose official organ only quite recently praised the Chamberlain memorandum, is now compelled to come out clearly and distinctly and to demand the withdrawal of troops from China. The I.L.P. understands that it is now a question of leading a mass movement which has arisen as a result of the initiative and leadership of the Communist Party, and cannot be pressed into the narrow limits of the official programme of the Labour Party. Even Ramsay MacDonald has been obliged to make some concessions, at least in words. Although he continues to praise Sir Austen Chamberlain, he is nevertheless obliged to demand more sharply if not the complete withdrawal of the troops in China, at least that additional troops shall not be sent. He realises—it was so obvious—that in spite of all the efforts of the official press the Government had failed to convert the despatch of troops to China into a patriotic demonstration. The soldiers and sailors who went to war took quite willingly the Communist anti-war leaflets, and in spite of the fact that the whole of the capitalist press obligingly reported this fact and that the "Times" even published the name of the printer, Joynson Hicks did not dare to prosecute the "traitors."

MacDonald, of course, had to draw practical conclusions from this state of affairs. Even the "Times" was obliged to note the "change" in MacDonald's attitude. As an example we will quote the following

passage from the leading article in this leading bourgeois newspaper of February 3:

"What the real attitude of the Party may be on this present critical occasion it is almost impossible to understand. On the one hand, Mr. MacDonald, their leader, approves of the Government's proposals and of the negotiations with Mr. Chen, but protests against the dispatch of troops and talks recklessly in that connection of 'playing with fire.' When the news came that Mr. Chen had broken off negotiations because troops had been dispatched, he talked on the spur of the moment as though he entirely sympathised with Mr. Chen. On the other hand, Mr. Thomas strongly supports the policy of the Government and repudiates attempts to make Party capital out of a dangerous foreign situation. Our Labour Correspondent tells us to-day that Mr. MacDonald is greatly criticised within his own Party for that is called his 'disingenuous' attitude on the Chinese question and his apparent willingness to yield to Left Wing tendencies."

**Left Wing Gains**

In his speech in reply to the debate on the King's Speech, Sir Austen Chamberlain declared:

"Mr. Trevelyan's position differs very considerably from the position occupied by the leaders of the Labour Party, Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Thomas."

One cannot but agree that Sir Austen's assertion is correct. The amendment moved to the King's Speech is in sharp contradiction to the line of policy which MacDonald and Thomas have tried to impose upon the British Labour Movement. Not only does this amendment protest against the despatch of armed forces to Shanghai; it demands the immediate withdrawal of all British troops from China. The "Communist intrigue" against which MacDonald had uttered such desperate warnings finally resulted in the Labour Party, of which MacDonald is the leader, being compelled to move amendments in the House which contradict the ideas MacDonald has been desperately defending all the time, and the Labour Party had to instruct Mr. Trevelyan, who has always shown sympathy towards the U.S.S.R., to move these amendments.

The activities of the servile Labour leaders on the Russian question were still less successful than on the Chinese question. On the day following the appearance of Citrine's statement, to which we refer above, two members of the General Council, Walker and Ben Tillett, publicly protested against this statement. A few days later George Hicks, the chairman of the General Council, was compelled to repudiate his secretary. Even Citrine's friends realised that he had been over-zealous, and that his open attacks upon the U.S.S.R. generally and the Soviet trade unions in particular, may still further shake the position of the General Council, which, as it is, is not so secure.

MacDonald also revealed greater political sensitivity on the Russian question than his immediate colleagues, Clynes and Snowden. He realised that it might still be possible to help the government to carry out their anti-Chinese adventure if they could persuade the workers that the fight against the "mob" in China



# British Imperialism—continued.

did not imply war on China, and did not imply any aggressive action whatever against the U.S.S.R. We will quote a short passage from a speech, delivered on February 2, by MacDonald in which his diplomacy is clearly revealed :

“ So long as the government negotiates with Mr. Chen on the lines of the recognition of Chinese independence, liquidating those old treaties which were imposed by the opium and other wars that disgrace our history, I will be behind them to give them all the help I can.

“ Sir Miles Lampson is admirable. Mr. O'Malley is admirable. I firmly believe that if anyone can settle things those men can.”

## Some Camouflage

And suddenly, in order to help his audience to digest his praises of the “ admirable ” agents of Stanley Baldwin, MacDonald turned to the Russian question and said :

“ I want the working classes of this country to be employed on Russian orders, but that will not happen until we have some sort of political agreement with Russia.

“ When you are told that in China the Bolshevik influences are against us, what can you expect? If you are unfriendly with your neighbour, have you any business to object to your neighbour being unfriendly to you? ”

The style is Christian, but the idea is perfectly clear. MacDonald assumed, and perhaps it was Chamberlain who suggested it to him, that it was impossible to mobilise the masses of the workers against both China and Russia simultaneously. He preferred, therefore, to pose as being friendly towards Russia and in this way to screen the immediate preparations that are being made for war upon China, and the conspiracy being hatched against Russia.

In the circumstances, however, there was nothing left for the Baldwin government to do but to say nothing on the Russian question. The times when the ruler of the waves could get others to pull chestnuts out of the fire for her have gone by, never to return. It has to pay in hard cash for assistance in its piratical plans. British Ministers for Foreign Affairs may still employ the old gestures and old customs, but Britain long ago lost her predominant position in international affairs and will never regain it. The British Government is now obliged to send British troops to China, which is not very convenient in the present condition of affairs, and also Indian troops which is a dangerous thing to do in view of the attitude of the people of India towards the Chinese revolution. There was nothing else the British Government could do.

The ruling class of Great Britain must also ponder over the fact that the effects of the General Strike have not been altogether removed. Among the masses of the workers a conviction is growing that the General Strike in itself was a brilliant triumph of proletarian solidarity and that it was defeated only as a result of the treachery of the General Council. Consequently active measures must be taken to prevent a repetition of strikes.

## Diehards Disappointed

Consequently the Baldwin Government on the one hand must angle for a solution of the Chinese problem (insoluble for British imperialism, which refuses to abandon its privileges in China unless it is compelled to by armed force). At the same time, the government must hurl fresh attacks against the trade unions, which are rallying the workers against the present rulers of England. Consequently, the British Government was obliged to disappoint its Diehard followers on the question of Russia.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the Diehards feel disappointed. The fact that nothing is said about Russia, even if it is only a tactical manoeuvre, is evidence of the weakness of British imperialism. This weakness must be taken into account but it must not be exaggerated. The British imperialists will continue with even greater malice and zeal the work of attempting to crush the Chinese revolution and to prepare for a plot against the U.S.S.R. which, as we have shown by the very fact of its existence, strengthens the Chinese revolution and inspires all the peoples here under the heel of British imperialism with hopes for their emancipation. The respite which has thus been obtained must be utilised to organise and mobilise all forces capable of combating the avowed and concealed enemies of the first workers' republic.

We must concentrate our efforts especially on giving real and active aid to the victorious Chinese revolution. This revolution is meeting with a deeper and deeper response among the toilers of all countries of the world. This response explains why the heroes of the Second International, who for years have maintained a shameful silence while the blood of the Chinese people has been shed, have suddenly come out in the role of the champions of Chinese liberty and Chinese independence. They wish to attach themselves to the broad mass movement in order to weaken it, and in order by soft words to weaken the vigilance of the Chinese people and of the workers of all countries in the face of the dangers which still threaten the Chinese revolution.

## A Real Fight

The Chinese revolution imposes upon the proletariat of all countries and particularly upon the proletariat of Great Britain concrete fighting tasks. They must prevent troops from being despatched. They must prevent these troops from being transported. They must reveal to the soldiers the true purposes for which they are being sent to China, they must prevent the manufacture of arms to be used for the suppression of the Chinese people. Sentimental resolutions are absolutely useless. On the contrary, phrases about the independence of China will only help the British Government to send excellent diplomats and not less excellent generals to fight against the Chinese people.

The King's Speech dealt only with two questions : both these questions are of colossal importance going far beyond the borders of the British Isles. These questions are the continuation of the offensive against the British working class (which, of course, is part of the international offensive), and the military intervention in China, which is being undertaken as yet principally by Britain, but in which the British Government is trying to induce the other imperialist powers to take part. It stands to the credit of the Communist movement of all



**British Imperialism**—continued

countries and to the Communist movement in Great Britain in particular that it has managed to draw the masses of the workers into an active fight in support of Canton.

The Second International is now making frantic efforts to bring under its influence the movement for the defence of the Chinese revolution. This is not a new trick. The General Council undertook to lead the General Strike in England in order to deprive it of

leadership. The German Social Democrats "successfully" led the revolutionary movement in Germany so well that their efforts resulted in Hindenburg coming into power. We are now witnessing a grandiose manoeuvre on an international scale directed against the revolutionary movement in which 400 million people are involved, and which in fact is directed against the whole imperialist system. As against this manoeuvre of the Second International we will hurl the slogan: "Real and active aid for the Chinese revolution!"



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